

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00
/104 W

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R 052008Z MAY 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3459
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSULATE CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1380

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: US, UN, PFOR, WA, SF
SUBJECT: FRG COUNSELLOR REPORTS ON WINDHOEK CONTACTS

REF: USUN 1375

1. FRG MISSION COUNSELLOR VERGAU STOPPED IN WINDHOEK ON HIS
WAY BACK TO NEW YORK FROM THE CAPETOWN TALKS AND REPORTED TO
THE WESTERN FIVE AMBASSADORIAL MEETING AT USUN ON MAY 4. TEXT
OF HIS REPORT FOLLOWS: QUOTE

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RE: SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AFTER THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS
BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE FIVE
IN CAPE TOWN

CABLE FROM WINDHOEK OF MAY 03, 1977 (ROUGH TRANSLATION)

I STAYED IN WINDHOEK FROM 01 TO 03 MAY 1977. I HAD TALKS WITH:

DANIEL TJONGARERO (ACTING CHAIRMAN OF SWAPO), CLEMENS KAPUUNO (HERERO CHIEF), DR. AFRICA (BASTER CHIEF), BOTH FROM THE TURNHALLE, TURNHALLE SECRETARY-GENERAL MARAIS (DIRK MUDGE WAS NOT IN WINDHOEK), BRIAN O'LINN (FEDERAL PARTY), WERNER NEEF (DEPUTY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY), DR. HALENKE (FROM THE GERMAN GROUP IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA), VICAR-GENERAL HENNING, DR. LUKAS DE VRIES (HEAD OF THE PROTESTANT-LUTHERAN CHURCH), KIRSCHNEREIT (HEAD OF THE GERMAN PROTESTANT-LUTHERAN CHURCH), EDITOR DAHLMANN (ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG).

IN MY CONVERSATIONS I POINTED OUT THAT I HAD NO MANDATE FOR TALKS ON THE CAPE TOWN RESULTS. I DID NOT PASS ON ANY INFORMATION ABOUT THESE RESULTS.

I.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NAMIBIA PRESENTS A PICTURE OF TOTAL CONFUSION. NO ONE WAS PREPARED FOR THE CAPE TOWN RESULTS. ACCORDING TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH SEEMED TO BE FINAL, TURNHALLE SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS ALIKE EXPECTED THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION TO BE ENACTED WITHIN A FEW WEEKS BY THE CAPE TOWN PARLIAMENT AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO BE INSTALLED AT THE SAME TIME.

1. THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES KNOW OF THE CAPE TOWN RESULTS IN THE FORM THEY WERE PRESENTED TO THEM BY THE SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT. TALKS WITH KAPUUNO, DR. AFRICA AND THE TURNHALLE SECRETARY-GENERAL MARAIS CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION THAT, WHILE CORSTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA INFORMED THEM CORRECTLY THAT THERE WOULD

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BE NO INTERIM CONSTITUTION AND THAT GENERAL ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION (NOT ONLY UN OBSERVATIONS), WITH SWAPO PARTICIPATION, THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES WERE APPARENTLY NOT DISSUADED FROM BELIEVING THAT THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY COULD BE MORE OR LESS IDENTICAL WITH THE PROPOSED INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THAT THE ELECTIONS COULD LEAD DIRECTLY TO THE ADOPTION OF THE TURNHALLE DRAFT CONSTITUTION WITHOUT THE NEED OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TAKING THE FINAL DECISION.

TURNHALLE POLITICIANS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS ARE EXASPERATED TO THE POINT OF OCCASIONALLY VENTING THEIR ANGER OF THE FIVE. THEY ARGUE THAT WHEREAS THE WEST RECOGNIZED EXTREME LEFT DICTATORSHIPS EVERYWHERE, IT DENIED TO NAMIBIA A DEVELOPMENT WHICH THE LATTER HAD CHOSEN FOR ITSELF IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF A LIBERAL POLICY AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF MULTIRACIAL GOVERNMENT. SWAPO HAD LONG BEEN RECOGNIZED BY ALL FIVE, IT HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS AND HAD RECEIVED DONATIONS. NO ONE HAD SO FAR TALKED TO THE TURNHALLE. FOR MANY TURNHALLE POLITICIANS THE PROSPECT OF A LUCRATIVE POST WHICH THEY HOPED

TO HAVE CONTRIVED FOR THEMSELVES SEEMS IN DANGER OF BEING
SHATTERED.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD NOT TOLD THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES
THAT THE FIVE WOULD OFFICIALLY INFORM THEM ABOUT THE CAPETOWN
RESULT. MY INTERLOCUTORS HEARD THIS NEWS WITH APPARENT SATIS-
FACTION.

IN ONE ESSTNETIAL POINT THE CAPE TOWN SHOCK INDUCED THE TURNHALLE
POLITICANS TO TAKE A STEP WHICH MAY PROVE TO BE A MAJOR
PROGRESS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERN CONCEPT: THE
TRANSFORMATION OF THE GROUPS REPRESENTED IN THE TURNHALLE INTO
A POLITICAL PARTY WHICH IS TO FACE SWAPO IN THE ELECTION
CAMPAIGN IS INCREASINGLY BEING ENCOURAGED AND NOW STANDS A
REAL CHANCE OF BEING PUT INTO EFFECT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1380

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

2. SWAPO EVIDENTLY FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE IN AN EFFECTIVE
ACTION BY THE WEST IN ITS OWN FAVOUR. ITS OFFICIAL MUST RELY

ON FRAGMENTARY PRESS REPORTS, RUNNING THE RISK OF FALLING VICTIM TO DELIBERATE MISINFORMATION ORIGINATING FROM CERTAIN TURNHALLE GROUPS AND REVEALING THE TURNHALLE'S INTEREST TO SEE THE WESTERN CONCEPT REJECTED BY SWAPO. A PRE-CONVEIVED SWAPO OPPOSITION TO OUR CONCEPT IS FOSTERED ABOVE ALL BY REPEATED ALLEGATIONS TO THE EFFECT THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD, AT THE MOST, PERMIT "INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION" OF ELECTIONS RATHER THAN UN SUPERVISION, AND THAT THE FIVE HAD PUT UP WITH THAT. IN THIS EXCEPTIONAL CASE, I FOUND IT NECESSARY TO BE MORE EXPLICIT.
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REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNAL SWAPO RE-ITERATED THEIR STATEMENTS THAT NUJOMA WAS THE UNCONTESTED LEADER OF SWAPO AS A WHOLE, AND THAT IN THE EVENT OF ELECTIONS SWAPO MIGHT ATTRACT AS MUCH AS 70 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL ELECTORATE. THE ESTIMATES OF OTHER PARTNERS I TALKED TO VARIED BETWEEN 30 AND 40 PER CENT. SOME WHITES, HOWEVER, SUCH AS THE GERMAN DEPTUY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, MR. NEEF, VOICED THEIR CONCERN THAT SWAPO COULD, BY PROPAGATING THE SLOGAN "WHITES OUT*" SEIZE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY.

SWAPO SO FAR HAS BEEN THRIVING ON MILITANT UN TEXTS AND MARXIST PHRASES. IT IS UNABLE TO PRESENT A PROGRAMME OF CONCRETE SWAPO POLICY IN NAMIBIA OR EVEN TO OUTLINE SUCH A POLICY ORALLY. APPARENTLY, THE CHANCE OF CAMPAIGNING IN ELECTIONS HAS TAKEN IT BY SURPRISE. THIS GRAVE DRAW-BACK MAY BE EXPLAINED IN PART BY THE ENORMOUS DIFFICULTIES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS, BUT IT IS ALSO INDICATIVE OF THE UNSATISFACTORY ROLE THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA HAS PLAYED.

3. TURNHALLE OPPONENTS NOT FORMING PART OF SWAPO ARE FEVERISHLY CONJECTURING ABOUT PRESS REPORTS FROM CAPE TOWN AND REJOICING AT THE POSITIVE OVERALL IMPRESSION, WHILE NOT HOLDING BACK WITH THEIR ADVICE TO DISTRUST MR. VORSTER. CERTAIN GROUPS NOW VISUALIZE CHANCES OF FORMING A COALITION IN THE NOT UNLIKELY CASE THAT NEITHER SWAPO NOR THE TURNHALLE PARTY WILL GAIN A MAJORITY. SWAPO, FOR ITS PART, CONSIDERS SUCH COALITIONS TO BE HIGHLY IMPROBABLE IN VIEW OF THE EXISTING POLITICAL DISCREPANCIES.

II.

THE UNCERTAINTY SURROUNDING THE CAPE TOWN RESULTS IS CONSIDERABLY ENHANCED BY THE FACT THAT THE TURNHALLE POLITICANS UNRUFFLEDLY CONTINUE TO PREPARE THE REFERENDUM AMONG THE WHITE POPULATION, ENVISAGED FOR 17 MAY 1977, AND TO PROPAGATE IT, RELAYING HEAVILY ON THE MASS MEDIA. UNDER THE REFERENDUM, THE WHITE POPULATION
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IS CALLED UPON TO OPT FOR THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION AND THE
INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS TO EXPRESS AGREEMENT THAT THE
DEFINITE CONSTITUTION FOR NAMIBIA SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY IN LINE
WITH THE PRESENT TURNHALLE DRAFT. BY INSISTING ON THE REFERENDUM,
THE TURNHALLE POLITICANS PRESUMABLY INTEND TO COMMIT THE WHITE
POPULATION ALREADY NOW TO THE ORIGINAL DRAFT CONSTITUTION, IN THE
EVENT THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF THE LATTER SHOULD TURN OUT TO BE
PIVOTAL AT A LATER STAGE. I FAIL TO VISUALIZE, HOWEVER, IN WHICH
WAY THEY COULD SUBSEQUENTLY DISPERSE THE OBVIOUS IMPRESSION OF
HAVING GROSSLY DECEIVED THE WHITE POPULATION ABOUT THE CAPE TOWN
RESULTS. UNQUOTE

LEONARD

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Message Attributes

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